

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 27844

EXDIS

BONN AND ROME FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, PFOR

SUBJECT: STOESSEL CONVERSATION WITH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR

SUMMARY. ASSISTANCE SECRETARY STOESSEL, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR IRWIN, CALLED ON QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR DE MARGERIE OCTOBER 22, 1973. DE MARGERIE SAID THAT FOLLOWING PERIOD OF SOME SUSPICION AMONG FRANCE, EIGHT AND US, ATMO-SPHERE NOW MUCH HEALTHIER. EMERGING EC VITALITY IMPORTANT TO OFFSET SAGGING EUROPEAN WILL TO MAINTAIN DEFENSE. DE MARGERIE APPEALED FOR US UNDERSTANDING DURING PRESENT "DELICATE" EC GROWTH PHASE. FRANCE SUPPORTS SECRETARY'S EFFORTS TO KEEP DETENTE INTACT, BUT SOME SUSPECTED US USING DETENTE ISSUE TO GATHER SUPPORT FOR ITS ME APPROACH. FRENCH SURPRISED OVR FORCEFUL PURSUIT OF US AMENDMENTS TO EC DRAFT SINCE JOBERT THOUGHT HE HAD UNDERSTANDING WITH SECRETARY THAT US WOULD ACCEPT WEAKER EC DRAFT IN EXCHANGE FOR STRONG NATO DOCUEMRNT. US SHOULD NOT REGARD NINE'S POSITION AGAINST "PARTNERSHIP" AS MEANING LACK OF TRUST OR DESIRE FOR "CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP" WITH US. END SUMMARY.

1. STOESSEL OPENED THE CONVERSATION COMMENTING BRIEFLY THAT ALTHOUGH THE ISSUES WERE NOT EASY SOME PROGRESS HAD
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BEEEN MADE, THAT THE US HAD NOW TO REVIEW THE RESULTS.

2. DE MARGERIE SPOKE OF AN EVOLUTION AMONG THE NINE. ALL SPRING AND SUMMER THE NINE HAD BEEN DIVIDED. DR.

KISSINGER'S APRIL INITIATIVE HAD NOT MADE THINGS EASY FOR THE NINE BECAUSE IT RESULTED IN A DIVIIVENESS AMONG THEM WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS WITH US. THE AUGUST HOLIDAYS SEEMED TO HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE. PERHAPS THE FUTILITY OF QUARRELING BECAME MORE EVIDENT. IN ANY CASE THE NINE SEEMED NOW TO REALIZE NECESSITY TO REAFFIRM THE EC PERSONALITY. OTHERWISE THE EC WOULD HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE ON WORLD SCENE. RELATIONS WITH THE US AT HEART OF MATTER. PUTTING IT BLUNTLY, FRANCE'S PARTNERS HAD SUSPECTED FRANCE OF WANTING A CONFRONTATION WITH US, AND FRENCH WERE SUSPICIOUS OF EC PARTNERS' DEALINGS WITH THE US. IT WAS HARD TO GET THE NINE TO THINK OF THEIR COMMON INTERESTS. NOW THERE IS LESS SUSPICION AMONG THE NINE; THE RELATIONSHIP OF NINE IS MATURING. NONE OF THEM WANTS CONFRONTATION WITH US. THEIR VIEWS ARE BEGINNING TO CONVERGE ON THE SUBJECT OF EC-US RELATIONS. ALL WANT BETTER RELATIONS WITH US. THE EIGHT NOW REALIZE FRANCE NOT ATTEMPTING TO PROPEL THM INTO CONFRONTATION WITH US. ALSO, FRANCE IS GETTING OVER IMMATURE REACTION OF SUSPECTING MANY US MOVES.

3. THIS EMERGING DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A COMMON RELATIONSHIP WITH US AND THE EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION THAT THE EC AND US HAVE HAD IN NEW YORK AND COPENHAGEN, AS WELL AS IN SOME BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS, ON DRAFT PRINCIPLES HAVE COME, IN DE MARGERIE'S VIEW, AT IMPORTANT MOMENT. THE SITUATION IN EUROPE IS NOT HEALTHY. THERE IS A "FERMENT OF WEAKENING." SEVERAL COUNTRIES ARE CUTTING MILITARY BUDGETS. EUROPEAN SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS ARE INCLINING THIS WAY. DANISH AND DUTCH POLITICIANS, E.G. FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO SPEAK OUT FOR A GREATER DEFENSE EFFORT. THERE IS EVN SOME HESITATION ON DEFENSE ISSUES IN GERMANY. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT IS TRYING, BUT CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN DETERIORATING IN RECENT YEARS. ITALY TODAY IS ALMOST A MORAL PROBLEM. THE TREND IN HOLLAND HAS ECHOS IN BELGIUM. THUS, IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO CREATE A FEELING OF VITALITY AMONG NINE AND FOR NINE TO
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ESTABLISH NEW AND GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH US.

4. DE MARGERIE HAPPY FRANCE TOOK INITIATIVE IN SUBMITTING PAPER IN NATO. THIS ACT HELPED DISPEL SUSPICIONS AND FEARS OF FRANCE'S MOTIVES BY THE EIGHT. IT ALSO HELPED TOWARD SOLIDARITY OF NINE. HE BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT FOR US THAT THERE BE THIS EMERGENCE OF VITALITY IN EC BECAUSE NATO DOES NOT ALWAYS SHOW SIMILAR VITALITY.

5. FRANCE AND ENGLAND WER TRYING TO INJECT WILL POWER AND STRENGTH INTO OTHER EUROPEAN PARTNERS. HE THOUGHT THIS ESSENTIAL AND HOPED US WOULD SEE THE POSTIVE VALUES OF A VIGOROUS AND UNITED EC EVEN IF CERTAIN ACTIONS OR ASPECTS

OF THE EC DISPLEASE THE US.

6. ALTHOUGH THE DANES WORRY ABOUT THE USSR AND THEIR RESOLVE IS WEAKENED BY THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR SCANDINAVIAN PARTNERS, DE MARGERIE SENSES A POSSIBLE CHANGE IN THEIR ATTITUDE. BEING IN THE EC CHAIR HAS MADE THEM FEEL MORE RESPONSIBLE.

7. WHOLE ATMOSPHERE IN EC IS BEGINNING TO BE MORE HEALTHY, AND THIS IS BENEFICIAL TO WESTERN SECURITY AND VIS-A-VIS USSR.

8. AFTER STOESSEL COMMENTED THAT THE FRENCH STILL SEEMED TOO SUSPICIOUS IN GENERAL AND VERY SENSITIVE TO THE WORD PARTNERSHIP, THAT THE US HAD AND STILL WANTED TO ENCOURAGE EUROPEAN UNITY, DE MARGERIE OBSERVED THAT FRENCH WERE FINICKY ABOUT WORDS, OFTEN TOO MUCH SO, THAT THEIR LEGAL TRADITIONS MADE THEM CAREFUL OF WORDS. HE HIMSELF DOESN'T ALWAYS SYMPATHIZE WITH THIS HABIT, BUT EMOTIONS OF HIS COLLEAGUES ARE OFTEN AROUSED BY WORDS; E.G. "PARTNERSHIP" IS A WORD CHARGED WITH ELECTRIC POTENTIAL, WHICH
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11. STOESSEL EMPHASIZED THAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT IT WAS THE BEGINNING AND NOT THE CULMINATION OF A PROCESS, OF A RELATIONSHIP.

12. DE MARGERIE REFERRED TO THE REFERENCE TO DETENTE IN THE EC DRAFT. THEY HAD TRIED TO PUT FORWARD A REASONABLE PROPOSAL, BUT THE US-PROPOSED AMENDMENT CREATES PROBLEMS. IN ADDITION, THE RUMSFELD DEMARCHE IN NATO AROUSED ANXIETY AMONG THE NINE AND GAVE THEM FOOD FOR THOUGHT. SOME MEMBERS HAD FEELING THAT CONCEPT OF DETENTE WAS BEING USED TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR US'S OWN NATIONAL APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AN APPROACH WITH WHICH ALL DID NOT AGREE. FRANCE DIDN'T CONSIDER DETENTE DEAD AS RESULT OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION; THEY APPROVED AND SUPPORTED DR. KISSINGER'S EFFORTS TO KEEP DETENTE FROM BREAKING DOWN. COMMENTS IN THE MEDIA DID NOT REPRESENT

INFORMED GOVERNMENT OPINION. HE HOPED NEITHER SIDE, I.E. EUROPE NOR US WOULD PUSH TOO FAR ON SENSITIVE ISSUES. THE US SHOULD NOT VIEW THE NINE'S POSITION AGAINST "PARTNERSHIP" AS MEANING LACK OF TRUST OR LACK OF DESIRE FOR A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP.

13. THERE FOLLOWED A DISCUSSION IN WHICH STOESSEL EXPLAINED, BACKED AND EMPHASIZED THE US POSITION AS STATED BY RUMSFELD.

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14. STOESSEL SAID THAT THE US WELCOMES FRANCE'S EXCELLENT FIRST NATO DRAFT. WE APPRECIATED FRANCE'S INITIATIVE AND THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT WAS TAKEN. THERE WERE HOWEVER, ADDITIONS WHICH WE UNDERSTOOD OTHER COUNTRIES WISHED TO MAKE AND WE HAD SOME OF OUR OWN. AMONG OUR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS WERE THOSE RELATING TO BURDEN SHARING AND MBFR. BURDEN SHARING WAS VERY IMPORTANT FROM POINT OF VIEW OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND CONGRESS. IF US IS TO BE ABLE TO KEEP ITS FORCES IN EUROPE, THERE MUST BE EFFECTIVE BURDEN SHARING

15. DE MARGERIE SAID THE FRENCH VIEW WAS THAN BURDEN SHARING WAS EPISODIC AND NOT PROPER FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. AS FOR MBFR, THE LONGER THE TALKS HAVE CONTINUED, THE MORE CONCERNED HAS FRANCE BECOME. HE SAW THE ADVANTAGES TO THE US, E.G. ATTITUDES IN CONGRESS, BUT FRANCE IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT PSYCHOLOGICAL RESULTS IN EUROPE. HE THINKS MBFR MORE DANGEROUS THAN CSCE AND THAT IT MAY ALREADY BE AFFECTING DENMARK AND HOLLAND. ON THE OTHER HAND HE REALIZES, AND JOBERT HAS SAID, THAT EUROPE MUST BE VERY AWARE OF A STATE OF EUPHORIA FOLLOWING CSCE.

16. DE MARGERIE REFERRED TO THE FORCEFULNESS WITH WHICH STOESSEL HAD PUSHED AT COPENHAGEN FOR INCLUSION OF THE US AMENDMENTS IN THE EC DRAFT. THIS SURPRISED THE FRENCH AS THEY THOUGHT THERE WAS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEIR MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT IF THE NATO DRAFT WERE A STRONG ONE, THE US COULD ACCEPT A WEAKER EC DRAFT. THE FRENCH HAD THEREFORE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN SUBMITTING A NATO DRAFT WITH WHICH US SEEMED PLEASED. EVEN SO, THE US CONTINUED TO PRESS AT COPENHAGEN RE THE EC DRAFT. IRWIN COMMENTED THAT THE US WAS PRESSING NO HARDER TO INCLUDE CERTAIN ITEMS IN THE EC DRAFT THAN FRANCE WAS TO EXCLUDE CERTAIN ITEMS FROM THE NATO DRAFT.

17. IN RESPONSE TO STOESSEL'S QUERY RE PAPER ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY, DE MARGERIE SAID EC WAS STILL WORKING ON IT, THAT THEY WANT IT OUT BEFORE THE EC/US DECLARATION, THAT HE HOPES IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE US.

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18. RE PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPEAN MONETARY AND ECONOMIC UNION, DE MARGERIE REGRETTEED THERE HAD NOT BEEN MORE PROGRESS. HE THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN REAL, IF MODEST, PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL COLLABORATION AMONG THE NINE. HE SAID SOME COULD BE CYNICAL AND SAY THAT THE US HAD HELPED EC TO COME TOGETHER, BUT HE WAS ONE WHO REGRETTEED ANY ELEMENT OF POLEMICS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE.

19. AFTER REVIEW ABOVE, STOESSEL MAY WISH TO BROADEN DISTRIBUTION.

20. NOTE FOR ROME: FOR ASST. SECRETARY STOESSEL IF STILL IN ROME.
IRWIN

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